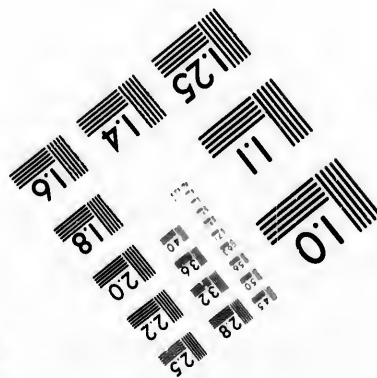
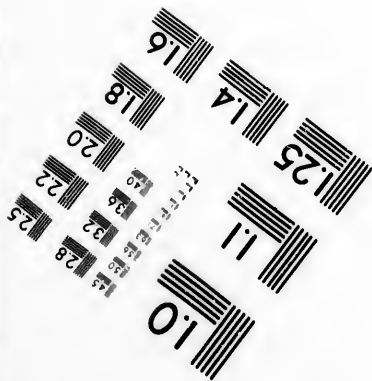
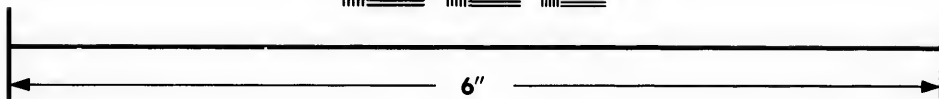
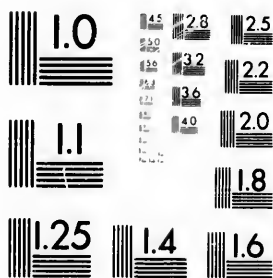


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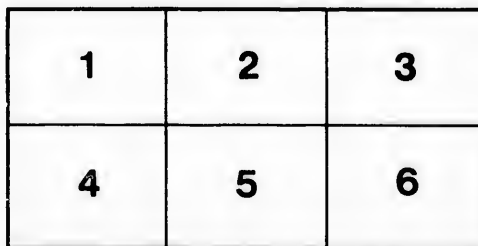
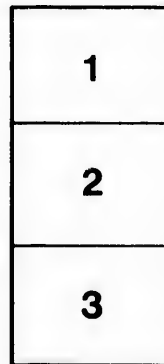
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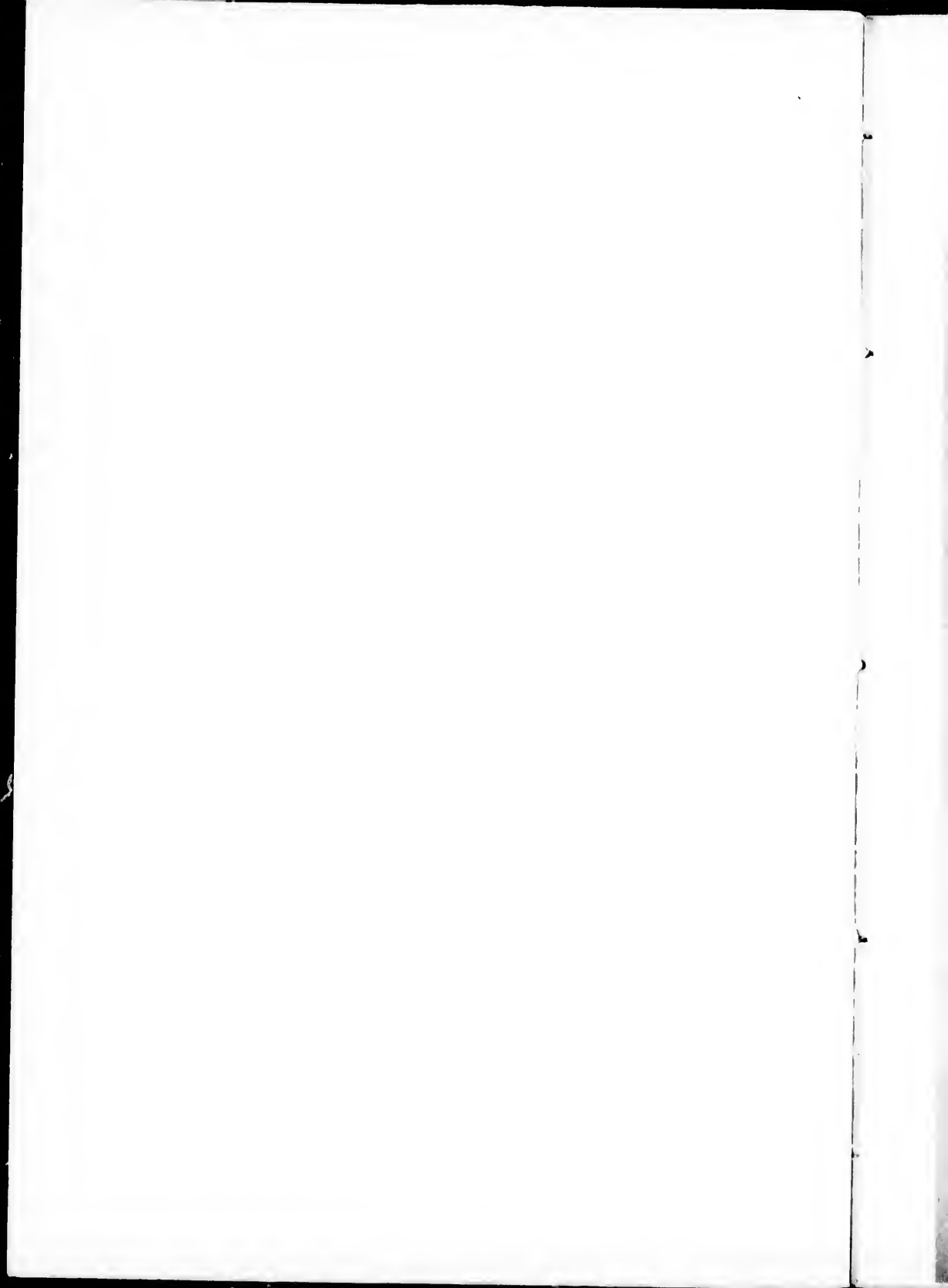
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**"TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY"**  
**VS.**  
**CANADA'S NATIONAL POLICY.**

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**POLITICAL ISSUES DISCUSSED.**

1. PAST AND PRESENT REVIEWED.
2. OPEN LETTER TO MR. DALTON MCCARTHY, M. P.
3. SIR JOHN MACDONALD AND THE ANTI-FRENCH CRUSADE.

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*(Published by request of the Ottawa Liberal Conservative Association)*

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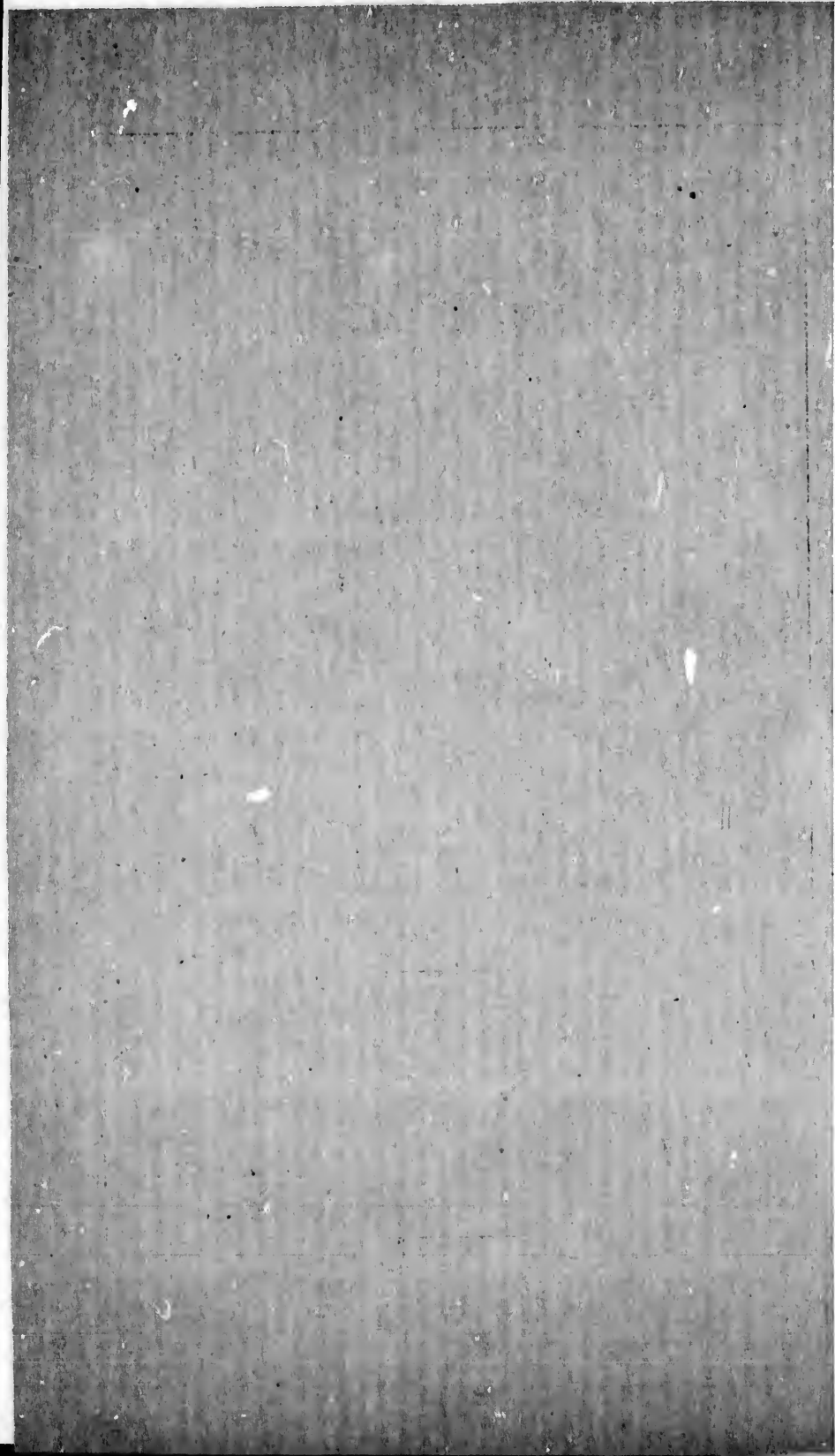
**C. H. MACKINTOSH, M. P.**

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THE EXPERIENCE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND  
LATER, THAT OF THE DOMINION, TEACHES THAT WHENEVER A POLICY  
OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO NATIONAL INDUSTRIES WAS DEPARTED  
FROM, OR DISREGARDED, THE NATION HAS NOT ONLY SUFFERED  
IN ITS REVENUES AND ITS CREDIT, BUT MATERIAL GROWTH  
HAS BEEN CHECKED, BUSINESS DISASTERS FOLLOWED  
AND ALL CLASSES HAVE UNIFORMLY EXPERIENCED  
LOSS AND PERSONAL DISCOMFORT.

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**1893.**



At the annual meeting of the Liberal Conservative Association of Ottawa, the following resolution was submitted:—

Moved by Messrs. A. D. Richard, Henry Egan, D. O'Connor, B. Batson, and seconded by Messrs. W. McEvela, Ex-Ald. Monk, G. Howe and F. Farrell,

"That we, the members of the Conservative Association of Ottawa tender our congratulations to Mr. C. H. Mackintosh, M.P., upon the open letter recently addressed to Mr. Dalton McCarthy, M.P., and would request that he allow the document to be published in pamphlet form, under the auspices of this Association, believing, as we do, that it contains a practical review of the past and a fair and able summary of the present political situation."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

C. D. CHITTY,  
*General Secretary.*

GEO. COX,  
*President.*



1893

(6)

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Review of *McCarthy*  
1893

## PAST AND PRESENT REVIEWED.

GEO. COX, Esq.,

*President of the Liberal Conservative Association of Ottawa.*

DEAR SIR:—

I acknowledge the receipt of a resolution passed at the recent annual meeting, asking me to sanction publication, under the auspices of the Liberal Conservative Association, of a letter upon Political Issues, addressed by me to Mr. Dalton McCarthy, M.P. Emanating from a body of men who have faithfully fought the party battles, never swerving from allegiance to the principles, so eloquently advocated and so practically developed, by our late lamented leader, Sir John Macdonald, and perpetuated by his successors, I deem the request an honour, and my ability to comply with it, a very great privilege.

Mr. McCarthy's speech, delivered before a Toronto audience, must have proved disappointing to those who anticipated a calm, statesmanlike and matured review of matters appertaining to trade and commerce. Appeals to passion, prejudice, sectionalism, race and religion, have never been acceptable to the electorate of the Dominion; hence, any attempt to divert the young and vigorous thought of the body politic, into the narrow groove of bigotry, should be condemned by all truly interested in Canada's future. Mr. McCarthy, endeavoring to attach a Protestant horse to the farmer's plough, may be an interesting spectacle to witness; but it will not develop trade, nor yet give increased impetus to wheels of industry. As Mr. John Morley said a few days ago, in the Imperial Parliament, "only those who hope, not those who fear, see the future of civilized communities." Mr. McCarthy appears determined that all classes shall think as he

thinks, and equally determined that no Government shall be formed without his sanction—for, “ insignificant, he might yet be of some consequence,”—to use his own words. Those who have read his Toronto speech, have now an opportunity of either accepting or rejecting the extraordinary panacea he offers—being a combination of

ANTI-FRENCH PHILIPPICS, AND ANTI-PROTECTION CONDIMENTS.

However, there are a few points which he sought to make, worthy of investigation. The first, that the National Policy has been maintained a sufficient length of time. Secondly, that the people are being robbed under cover of the Tariff; in short, that the farmer is made the victim of the manufacturer; thirdly, that the time has arrived for the adoption of a partial “Tariff for Revenue.” You will remember that between 1874 and 1878, Canadian industries of all kinds were in great distress, while the farmer cried aloud for an amelioration of his condition, Mr. Dalton McCarthy riding in front of the band waggon. Such pressure was brought to bear that the Liberals—deadly opponents of Protection in any form—were forced to grant a committee to enquire into “the present depression.” This was in 1876, Mr. David Mills, M.P., one of Canada’s ablest parliamentarians, being chairman. As Mr. Dalton McCarthy does to-day, cogent reasons were given in the report (April 11th) for the then existing trouble, as well as for the maintenance of a partial “for revenue” tariff. The report concluded by declaring

- (1.) “That a protective system might diminish the consumption of foreign goods.
- (2.) That it might “lessen the amount of taxation received into the public treasury.”
- (3.) That the “principal object of such a policy is to increase the price of goods manufactured in the country.”
- (4.) That “the consumer would have to pay a large tax,” while the country would not be benefited.
- (5.) That it was “a proposition to relieve general distress by a redistribution of property.”

Again it was contended:—

- (6.) “That the Customs revenue would be diminished by \$9,000,000.

(7.) That some means would have to be discovered to 'make up the tax.'

(8.) That 'this tax of 25 per cent. added to the price of the goods purchased at home would impose a burden of \$12,500,000 upon the consumers, as the condition of securing 150,000 additional inhabitants, who during a commercial depression might be left without employment and might become a further charge upon the rest of the community.'

This was the result reached by my respected friend, Mr. David Mills, and his committee—this is, to some extent, the opinion of Mr. McCarthy seventeen years after! It is not, it cannot be the ripe conclusion arrived at by Mr. Mills, or a vast majority of those conversant with the progress, prosperity and contentment to be found throughout the Dominion to-day; and as, in my humble way, I endeavoured to prove in my letter to the member for North Simcoe. By reference to the early system of English protection, it is shown that, for centuries, nothing was left undone to crush the life out of all opponents in every portion of the civilized globe. The cotton manufacture was

TRANSFERRED FROM IN. IA TO GREAT BRITAIN,

by the prohibition of the export, not only of machinery itself, but of all the articles by which machinery might possibly be made. Again, in 1822, "all protection having been withdrawn from Irish manufactures, but not from any English manufactures, there was a famine in Ireland and great suffering resulted." As William Cobbett cynically says "There was food enough—but no money to purchase it." Canada had some experience of this between 1874 and 1878. The masses were despondent, disheartened and starving; public works virtually stopped, the Finance Minister declaring that it was impossible to promise further improvements; Canadian loans were floated at ruinous rates, while American industries glutted the Canadian market. I remember well, reading the report made by Mr. David M. Swanel, of Philadelphia, on "the American Iron Trade" in 1876, in which he stated:—

"A notable proof of the headway we are gaining in the exportation of finished products, is furnished by recent shipments of iron bridges to the Dominion of Canada by the

Phoenixville Bridge Works, of Pennsylvania, of which Clarke, Reeves & Co., are proprietors. This firm has sold eight or ten bridges to the Great Western Railway of Canada, during the past year, and within a recent period, it has sold thirty or forty bridges to the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada; one bridge to a county in Ontario, to be erected over the Thames River; seventeen spans to the Intercolonial Railway of Canada, each span measuring 210 feet in length; nine spans to the Montreal and Ottawa Railway, varying from 50 to 200 feet in length. These bridges were sold in British territory, in fair competition with British makers of iron bridges, and they were paid for mainly by British money and in one instance by the Dominion Government itself."

Is such evidence as this calculated to induce Canadians to open their gates again, without any corresponding advantages? To-day, hundreds who otherwise would perhaps be starving, are exercising their skill and industry in the bridge works at Hamilton, the Dominion Bridge Works and the Canadian Bridge Works, at Montreal. Why, no later than this year, the San Francisco Bridge Works have handed over an immense amount of bridging in Washington Territory to the Dominion works, whilst the Central Bridge Works at Peterborough are doing a fair business. Is this the reason impelling Mr. McCarthy to make a change? The truth is, the member for North Simcoe acts like an angry boy in a hurry—and strikes even innocent bystanders. He knows that Great Britain maintains

A PROTECTIVE POLICY TO-DAY, WHILE SHE ABANDONS PROTECTIVE DUTY.

She has cheap coal, cheap iron, cheap skilled labor, abundant capital, amassed through centuries of restriction; improved machinery, accumulated experience, and extensive workshops—hence can afford the luxury. The United States is making similar progress, improved machinery, a teeming population, a developed South, new markets—all are rapidly contributing to bring about tariff changes there.

Mr. McCarthy can afford to be sublime in his speculative politics; he is not responsible; he is on the offensive, not the de-

fensive. Hence, he may rail against specific duties, without realising or caring to comprehend the effect. If there are anomalies in the tariff, those who formulated it in 1878 are the men who should be better able to redress any grievances. Certainly, those artisans who constructed an intricate piece of machinery, are more to be trusted in repairing it, than a striking workman who desires to destroy its symmetry by wild experiments. The tariff of 1846, adopted by the United States, contained, as its leading feature, the substitution of general ad valorem for specific duties; leading tariff experts deplore the change, contending that the policy was utterly at war with the national idea of developing industries and creating a home market; that it jeopardised those who look for steady employment and was at war with a legitimate revenue policy. They held that when imports were entered at low prices, duties were low, the home manufacturer losing the protection he most needed; thus defrauding the revenue and crippling domestic works. Results seem to have sustained the argument, for disaster followed disaster, until remedial legislation was adopted. Great Britain, except in one or two minor cases, levies only specific duties, on the products of foreign countries. Let those who eulogise British Free Trade (meaning the free exchange of commodities between nations) prove where it exists? Whence Great Britain derives hundred of millions of dollars from taxing tea from China, coffee from Brazil, currants, raisins, figs, &c. from Southern Europe, and tobacco, distilled grains, &c., from the United States, surely the most ardent admirer in International Free Trade, must have some lurking suspicion that so far as Great Britain is concerned the thing is a delusion—a myth. Again, ask the Labour Unionist (if he be a Liberal) what policy he believes in? A majority might say "Free Trade"; but ask him if he objects to artisans being brought to Canada to compete with him, and the answer would be—"Oh, no, we want the labour market restricted." Illogical it may be, but it is human nature! Hence, I am convinced that great care should be taken by the Government of the day to guard against yielding to cabal clamor, at the present moment. The people of Canada are practical, intelligent and reasonable, and will not fail to recognise the fact that, until the tariff policy

of the United States is known, until Australian object lessons are studied and the financial equilibrium of the world—now so sadly disturbed—is restored, it would be national folly to jeopardise the Dominion by hasty and ill-considered action.

I submit that to give point, as well as legitimate foundation, to the contention of those whose design is the creation of antagonism between the husbandman and manufacturer, strife between the toiler in the field and the worker in the factory, it must be shown: first, that, the farmer pays more duties in 1893 than he did in 1878—*on the necessaries as well as many of the luxuries of life*; secondly, that he was as well off pecuniarily, under a 17½ per cent. tariff, and could better afford to purchase these commodities; thirdly, that he bought them as cheaply in 1878 as he did in 1893; fourthly, that farming machinery in general, is as high to-day, as it was in 1878; lastly, that there was as permanent a demand in 1878, for the smaller farm products, at similar prices, as characterises the local market in 1893. I venture this opinion, in the interests of all concerned—for it would make one despair of his country's future, if convinced that producers of any class, were anxious to be deceived, anxious to encourage grievance-mongers, anxious to be misled by specious economic quacks, who know no more about intricate fiscal issues, than they "know about physics."

I have been charged by Mr. Dalton McCarthy's admirers and defenders with writing in the interests of manufacturers. This is not true. I am aware that the hog exists amongst capitalists, just as the hog may be found in politics. When there is nothing in it for him, he desires that there shall be nothing in it for anybody else; but that is no reason why the earnest thinker should tremble at either a grunt or an insinuation. Since 1874, it has been my duty to carefully study questions connected with tariff legislation. I write in no boastful spirit, but can solemnly aver, that the more time I have devoted to the subject, the greater the conviction that spasmodic tariff experiments, in a small community, usually end in disappointment as well as disaster. So far back as 1859, the manufacturers of Toronto and Montreal, united in a demand for what was then considered timely and judicious, namely, tariff revision in the direction of

protection ; the result being a 20 per cent. tariff, with 25 per cent on boots and shoes. Sir Alexander Galt was at the head of the financial department : what followed? Up to that hour boots and shoes had been supplied by the United States ; but Messrs. Brown & Childs, and Smith & Cochrane, introduced necessary machinery into Canada, and, within less than two years, there were twenty shoe factories in Upper and Lower Canada, the products being furnished as cheaply as when formerly purchased in the United States.

This lesson was learned ; the money went out of the country ; latterly, it paid local artisans and these artisans purchased the home products of the farm and market garden. Then, consequent upon Confederation, a 15 per cent tariff was adopted ; the war in the United States was over, and by 1873, American manufacturers, feeling the financial stringency and glut of goods in their own market, pounced upon Canada, just as Great Britain, years before, made an effort to "stifle the industries of America in their cradle." The 17½ per cent. tariff of 1874—small though the increase—possibly protected some classes of Canadian industries. Despite this, however, the universal demand from farming, industrial, mining and commercial interests was—increased protection, the National Policy for Canada. The farmers set forth, (1) "That the great agricultural interests of Canada suffer greivous wrong through the present one-sided system of allowing American farm produce to enter our market duty free, while our produce has to pay heavy toll on entering the American market ;" the cotton manufacturers alleged, and with good reason, (2) "That the Americans had sent orders to their Canadian agents—'No matter at what cost, close the young cotton industries of Canada';" artisans said, (3) A system which annually sends over \$20,000,000 to the United States for manufactured goods which we can as well make at home, is a crying injustice to our workingmen, taking the bread from their mouths and giving it to foreigners ;" the manufacturers asserted, (4) "That so soon as the Americans had introduced their goods into the Canadian market, a systematic attack was made upon the Canadian manufacturer, by reducing prices far below cost of production, in order to crush him out of existence



and thus secure the market for themselves and afterwards obtaining their own prices." But why continue, when every observer between 1874 and 1878

MUST REMEMBER THE DARK DAYS,

as well as the outburst of indignation, because of the supineness of those in power? The "table of insolvencies," for even one year, speaks more potently than volumes of evidence. I will quote that for 1876:—

	Commercial.	Industrial.
Ontario.....	299	446
Quebec .....	255	202
New Brunswick .....	30	27
Nova Scotia.....	95	42
Manitoba .....	3	3
British Columbia.....	1	2
	683	822

or a total of 1505 failures—822 of which were manufacturers. How the unfortunate farmer suffered, can only be inferred by conning the petitions submitted to Parliament. Is this not an object lesson worth remembering, worth considering, worth taking to heart? To-day, Canadians are asked to try the experiment again—just at a time when one thoughtless move may jeopardise the entire edifice! And this is what Mr. Dalton McCarthy demands, this is what his petulant tyranny suggests. I ask you, sir, would it be safe for either agricultural, commercial or manufacturing interests to accept him as a guide? I have said that spasmodic experiments with a national tariff are dangerous; I add that only after mature consideration, careful investigation and wise deliberation, should this be done, and then with the utmost caution. The experiment was tried when the tariff adopted in 1859 was lowered, and disaster followed, so soon as our natural rivals recovered from their war depression. Now, let me, for a few moments, deal with similar periods in the economic history of the United States, my apology being the grave character of the subject and the enormous interests at stake. Certainly history repeats itself;

the map of the world may change—human nature, with its ambition, desire for gain, its restless cupidity—never. National and individual life cannot be measured by, are not governed by a system of equations. Only three centuries of Protection, extreme, tyrannous, selfish, if you will, satisfied the average Englishman. Coming down to this century, Lord Brougham is seen pointing out to the House of Commons, when in Committee (See Brougham's Speeches, 1838, vol. 1, pp. 518-519,) that "it is well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, *by the glut to stife in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States*, which the war forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things!" As the manufacturers of the United States did towards Canada from 1874 up to 1878 (after the industries of the former had recovered from war prostration, and this country gloried in a partial revenue tariff of 17½ per cent.) so Great Britain, by pouring the surplus industries of cheap, sometimes starved labour, into the Colonies, driven from her by selfishness, taxation and unwise legislation, accomplished up to 1816. Workshops were closed, skilled laborers were either out of employment or toiling on half time, at the lowest possible remuneration, the almshouses were full, the coffers empty and proprietors of industrial establishments bankrupt. The glut of excessive British exportations reduced revenue, and national repudiation seemed imminent;

#### FOREIGN LOANS WERE IMPOSSIBLE,

except at usurious rates, and an impoverished people looked vainly for relief. What followed? Awakened to a sense of danger, learning a lesson from the volume of experience; taught wisdom by the crushing evidence of hard facts, the Calhoun Tariff, based upon protection, was adopted; then followed further fiscal enactments, in 1824 and 1828, and an immediate resuscitation of dormant energies. Industrial interests manifested vitality, the public treasury was replenished, public confidence restored. There were 'prentice statesmen at that period, as there are now; there were envious politicians, as there are now; there were victims of pique and vanity as there are now; the consequences being, that, after prolonged agita-

tion, those who were induced to forget the lesson of the past, fell into the grievous error of submitting to an experiment, with all the unfortunate results thoughtful men had predicted. The Clay Compromise Bill, went into effect in 1833 and within seven years (1840) every interest was in a deplorable condition; so much so, that the nation was without credit in the financial centres of the world. The "tariff for revenue only" did its work effectually; Henry Clay and his Whig associates had, in an hour of temptation, succumbed to popular clamor. History tells us—and where better can philosophy be learned than in the pages of history?—that in his report of December 7th, 1840, it was estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury, that at the close of 1841, "there would remain in the Treasury, an available balance of but \$824,273," and that even this might disappear, and a deficit of several millions be found "under the operations of the Compromise Act of 1833;" which had rapidly lowered the amount of customs revenue. The President, in his message to Congress, at its extra session, in June 1841, estimated the probable deficit at the close of the year at \$11,406,132, while the Secretary of the Treasury announced that the expenditure during the four previous years, had exceeded the revenue by \$31,310,014. Then attempts were made to prop the tottering edifice by loans; how successful this panacea proved, may be estimated by the fact that Congress, in 1841 and 1842, having authorised the negotiation of Treasury notes and loans amounting to \$15,000,000, only \$5,672,976 had been applied for and taken; while the Secretary of the Treasury was forced to shock the nation by announcing that the Government agent, General William Robinson, a gentleman of high integrity, had visited England and the Continent to negotiate all or part of a loan of \$5,000,000, but had "since returned without accomplishing the object of his mission." "The tariff for revenue only," had again produced wide-spread national paralysis and by a union of parties in 1842, a protective tariff was again adopted; industries revived, the national exchequer was replenished; when, in 1846 "Tariff for revenue only" again presented itself for public approval, Robert J. Walker, being then Secretary of the Treasury.

Men had reasoned in 1845 against protection; they had quoted Swift's formula

## ENUNCIATED WITH REFERENCE TO GREAT BRITAIN,

one hundred years before, and successfully misapplied and misquoted it, in connection with the struggling and jeopardised industries of the United States. Men are prepared to do this, in fact are doing it, in Canada to-day; with what effect, remains to be seen. In 1845 class was arrayed against class, demagogues and agitators, and interested politicians pointed out that the farmer rose in the morning at the sound of a clock taxed 50 per cent., washed in a basin taxed 35 per cent., with soap taxed 30 per cent., wiped on a towel taxed 25 per cent., put on trousers taxed 40 per cent., a coat taxed 45 per cent., and was forced even to pay taxes whether he breathed or died, whether in his bed or in his coffin. Thousands overlooked the fact that not one farthing of duties was collected upon these articles, providing the home market was vouchsafed the opportunity of supplying them, and so doing, the local producer was enabled to purchase agricultural supplies within the vicinity of his factory or his workshop. What followed? The new law "for revenue only" went into effect in 1847, and records show, that although the United States "mined \$1,100,000,000 of gold from the newly discovered fields of California, during the decade following, 1857 found the nation bankrupt, its working people without employment, its machinery silent, its banks broken or suspended, and the national revenue insufficient to meet current expenses. This continued until 1861, when a protective policy was adopted, import duties were forced up, the war tariff successfully prevented underselling, even though hundreds of thousands were called to fight for their country, industries again revived, while even Canada under the treaty of 1854, for once managed to reap important harvests from the demand for her various products. The great war debt of the United States, the awful ordeal passed through, the demands upon national resources, were something to appal a less progressive, less industrious, less patriotic people; but under a protective system credit remained unimpaired, revenue increased, industries revived and expanded, and to-day, her statesmen, after having increased import duties for several years, hesitate to try the experiment of a sweeping tariff reform, although, perhaps no

nation is in a better position for freer trade with other countries, than that south of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. McCarthy [SPEAKS FLIPPANTLY ABOUT "Trusts."] Let me refer to this subject.

On the 29th of March, 1890, Mr. Edwards, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Washington, in accordance with instructions contained in an imperial despatch dated Oct. 16th, 1889, reported to Sir J. Pauncefote upon the general question of "Trusts" in the United States, the latter highly gulogizing the manner in which Mr. Edwards discharged his duties. The report finds that the researches of the Committee of the House of Representatives justified Mr. Edward's in believing that "the investigation, though it has not resulted in legislation," has not been without great public advantages, and shows that "the more that is known of trusts, the less they are to be feared." The writer produces figures and evidence to prove that all classes of "Trust" productions had, consequent upon the union of knowledge, experience, skill and finance, been reduced in price, this co-operation in coal oil alone "saving the public about \$100,000,-000 per annum."

Consul Clipperton (Philadelphia) reporting to Sir Julian Pauncefote (Nov. 5th, 1889,) said:

"I beg to state that there are but six trusts organized and in practical working condition within the consular district, viz.:—The Sugar Trust, Standard Oil Trust, Linseed Oil Trust, Cotton Seed Oil Trust, Lead Trust and Salt Trust." He states that "The Sugar Trust" brought the industry "up from the ruinous competition prices, wherein millions of capital were sunk, to a fairly remunerative standard, the actual increase being two cents per pound. . . . The consumer's cost being *about half what it was fifteen years ago.*"

I mention these facts because those who desire to agitate for reforms without realising the effect of, or necessity for such, suppress the other side of the question and wilfully deceive the public. Hence, while I am in no degree defending trusts or manufacturers, I am yet bound, in all candour, to deal fairly with the subject. Such a course, every honest reader will approve of. Consul Clipperton in his report is calmly judicial. He adds:

"Trusts" are "a combined power which can devour capital, skill, industry and the mechanical arts; their forces are so great as to be able to

control trade and to divert it, to regulate the markets and to dictate to labour, skilled and unskilled. Have they done this? So far in this country" (the United States) "they have not, and until they attempt to do such things popular prejudice will avail not. The same spirit of opposition existed against co-operative stores, trades unions, and other combinations; but they have lived through it, taken their respective stations in the world of traffic, and continue to perform their respective duties among the affairs of men."

This appears to be a reasonable view, by a reasonable and disinterested authority, and certainly should be considered, in a general discussion of the subject. Let Mr. McCarthy's policy, coming as close as possible to the goal of a "Tariff for Revenue," with no union of financial forces for the production of cheaper articles, prevail, and I venture to predict that Trades and Labor Unions, even when officered by Grit Ontario officials or Liberal sympathizers, will be forced by practical artisans and unskilled labour to repudiate his doctrines in their entirety. What does Mr. McCarthy know of the requirements of working-men? When did he awaken to a sense of what is or what is not necessary for their good? One thing might prove advantageous, and this he does not advocate, namely the Governor-in-Council taking power under the proposed Tariff re-arrangements, to suspend the collection of custom's duties on articles the price of which have been unduly enhanced by Trusts or Combinations. It is certainly a safeguard worthy of consideration, for with a Board of Tariff Supervisors, comprising the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, the Hon. John F. Wood and the Hon. Clarke Wallace, or whoever may in future occupy their positions, the interests of both manufacturer and consumer ought to be safe. What I desire to caution every true Canadian against, is, the acceptance of Mr. McCarthy's doctrines, without mature deliberation. He is not an economic student and the sudden reversal of the convictions avowed by him from 1874 until 1892, should be sufficient to shake confidence in the wisdom of his new departure, based as it is upon the flimsiest creations of assumption; in short, the spasmodic theories of a sophistical special pleader. I believe Canada to be prepared for a broad measure of Reciprocity, broader in many respects than that proposed under the Brown-Thornton articles of 1874; but only on the supposition that, en-

larging our industries by increased capital, we have other markets to look to in times of emergency, wherein to dispose of surplus products of all kinds. Great Britain, for national and financial reasons, throws her ports open to the world to-day, and even though we offered a 10 per cent. discrimination in her favour, she would not be likely to buy from us more than she required, nor would we be likely to gain any advantages by voluntary propositions or uncalled for and unreasonable sacrifices.

The significant evidence given before the House Commission upon "Trade Relations," the sworn testimony of scores of witnesses, that "*with a modified Tariff or with Free Trade not only the ploughs, but all the leading implements of the North-West, such as hoes, binders, seeders, in fact nearly everything of that kind that is manufactured in Wisconsin, Illinois or Minnesota, or other Western States, would be used in Manitoba and the Territories,*" is certainly significant. And Senator Allison asked:—

"Do you think that you could shut up those manufacturers who are making ploughs in Western Canada, if there was free intercourse?"

The answer of the witness, William J. Dean, was:

"I think not altogether, but I think we could get our share of the trade."

Asked again:

"Before the Canadians had that tariff, they did not manufacture these things at home much, and you had the trade?"

The answer was:

"YES, SIR."

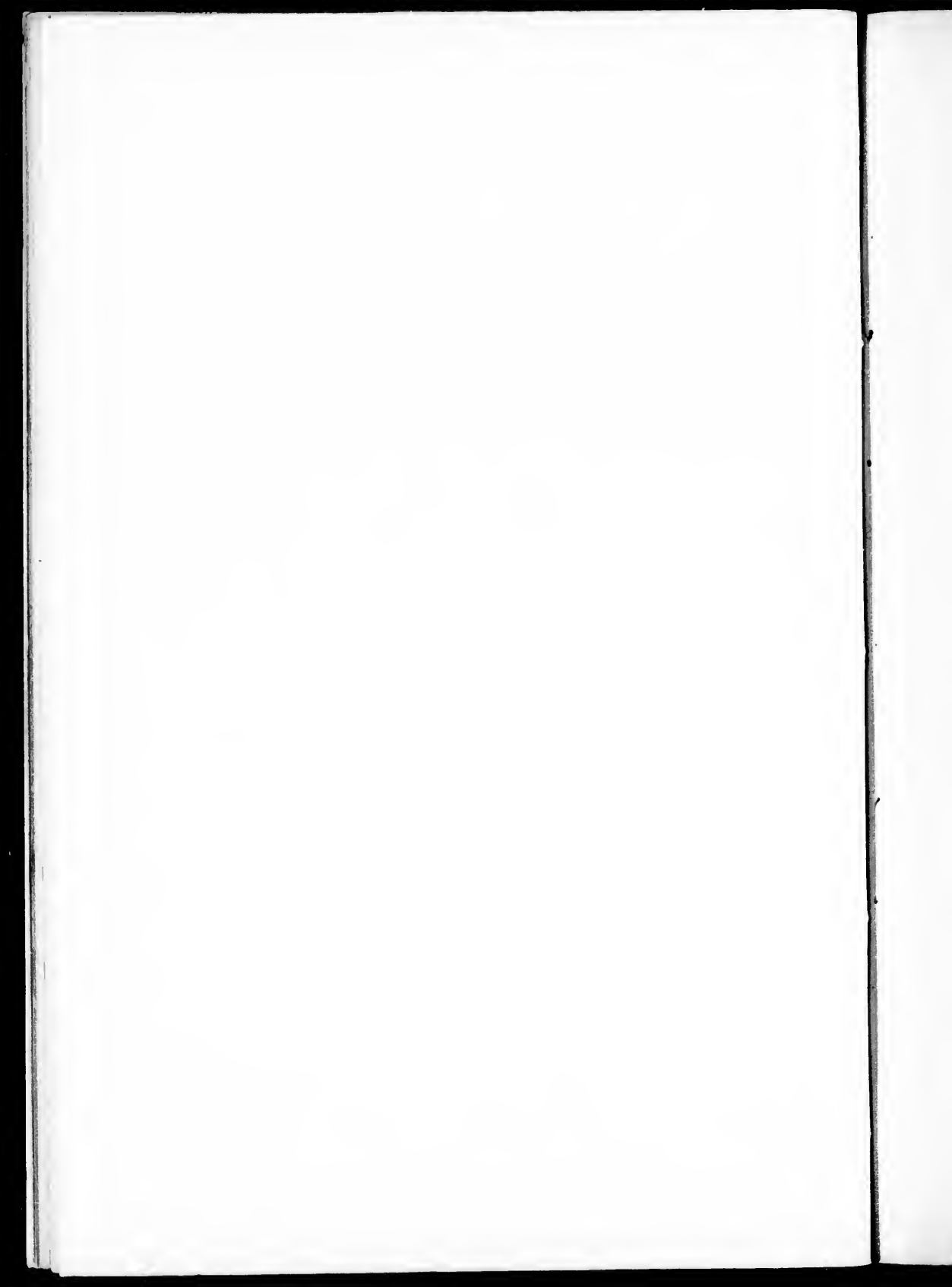
To-day farming implements are cheaper by 40 or 75 per cent.; yet we are told that the National Policy has caused Canada to retrograde, and that thousands are fleeing from our country to seek happiness under a government whose tariff for protection stands from 50 to 100 per cent. higher than that of the Dominion!

#### THE ONE DESIGN OF CANADIAN STATESMEN

should be to educate all classes to a sense of our national obligations; to encourage industry and self-reliance, to promote internal development, to reward merit, not mere influence, to incul-







cate a patriotic and far-seeing spirit, to warn the masses against being swayed by popular passion or misled by personal ambition; in short, to realize the vast possibilities of this northern portion of the American continent. In minerals, timber and fish the Dominion vastly exceeds the United States in sources of supply; Canadian wheat areas largely exceed those of the United States, and the future will prove that coming millions must be fed from the products generously yielded from this soil. Canada comprises 40 per cent. of the British Empire; the United States is looking for enlarged markets for her manufactures, and must have, as has been admitted by the ablest writers, a supply of free raw material and cheapened food products for New England and the great manufacturing centres. Canada could furnish these, and it certainly does seem that the wiser policy would be to so trim and prepare the national ship that, when the time arrives, she may go to sea prepared to successfully reach the port of wider trade relations with our neighbours across the border. The latter is vast, but he would be no statesman who failed to cast the horoscope of another great nation on this side of the Atlantic, struggling with her for continental supremacy. Meanwhile the markets of the world are open to the Dominion, and, with each Province co-operating in a united guardianship over and promotion of the forestry, live stock, irrigation and scientific farming interests, and a careful fostering of national industries, we need have no fears of the ultimate results.

Now, sir, but one motive could induce me to discuss this subject, at such length, namely, an earnest desire to see the country I was born in prosper; this can only be accomplished by permitting the sober second thought to influence final judgment. I can find no permanent solution of the trade problem in any of Mr. McCarthy's recent theoretical utterances; even the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Laurier, a gentleman held in high esteem by those who know him best, was

FORCED TO APOLOGIZE FOR VOTING IN FAVOUR OF THE RESOLUTION introduced by the member for North Simcoe during the late session of Parliament. In doing so he said (referring to the proposition of discrimination in favour of Great Britain):—

"Were it possible, according to the rules of the House, to offer an amendment to this resolution, I would offer an amendment in the direction I have indicated.....While the balance of advantage seems to me to be altogether on the one side, at the same time, *I am bound to put in a disclaimer* against every other proposition contained in the motion, which is not a legitimate conclusion of the first part of the motion, but which is, in my judgment, an excrescence, having no logical connection with the foregoing part of the proposition."

In short, Mr. McCarthy introduced a vote-catching resolution, reckless of consequences, so long as he could tempt representatives to support it. It was an "omnibus" motion, just as the Toronto gathering was an "omnibus" assemblage. The "Equal righter" looked at the "Nationalist" in parliament, and no doubt mentally asked "What on earth am I voting with you for?" while in Toronto—well, the least said the easier mended.

Mr. Laurier had also been in Toronto. He there made a solemn pledge (September the 30th, 1889) and unlike Mr. McCarthy desired to remain consistent. He remembered having used these words:—

"The conditions are not equal upon which you can form a closer commercial alliance between Canada and Great Britain; but there is alongside of us a kindred nation economically situated as we are—the United States, and we claim that that commercial union which at this moment is not possible with England, is possible with the United States, and the policy which we have advocated, which we still continue to advocate, is the removal of all commercial barriers between this country and the great kindred nation to the south..... I have read history in this way, that every reform has cost to the reformers years of labour, and those years of labour I for one am prepared to give, and though the Democrats may be defeated in the States, and though Canadians may grow faint-hearted in Canada, the Liberal Party, as long as I have anything to do with it, will remain true to the cause, until that cause is successful. *I will not expect to win in a day, but I am prepared to remain in the cool shades of opposition, until the cause has triumphed.*"

Thus, those who run may read, by anticipation. Mr. McCarthy

may seek to destroy the Conservative party; he may create bickerings, cabals, conspiracies, misunderstandings, a crimony, envy, jealousy and by these methods, strengthen the hands of Liberals; yet, the leader of the Opposition says:—"I will assist you in your nefarious enterprise—but after you succeed, I will remain 'true to the cause of a closer alliance between this country and the great kindred nation to the south.'"

I love Great Britain quite as sincerely as Mr. McCarthy possibly could; that country offers an open market to all; why then, must we introduce sentiment, and so doing, perhaps, for years defeat any effort to secure Reciprocal relations with the United States? Where is the necessity for haste? Do our national responsibilities in any manner justify such an experiment?

I remain,

Ever faithfully,

C. H. MACKINTOSH.

OTTAWA, Ont., May 7th, 1893.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. DALTON McCARTHY, M. P.

"Opposition is natural in such a system as ours. It has subsisted in all such Governments; and, perhaps, is necessary. But, to those who oppose, IT IS EXTREMELY ESSENTIAL, that their manner of conducting it incur NOT A SUSPICION OF THEIR MOTIVES. If they appear to oppose FROM DISAPPOINTMENT, FROM MORTIFICATION, FROM PIQUE, FROM WHIM—the *people will be against them.*"

DALTON McCARTHY, Esq., Q. C., M. P.

Sir,—To-night you are to be vouchsafed the opportunity of addressing a large and consequently an intelligent audience, in the city of Toronto; composed, first, of those who sympathize with your recently announced economic doctrines; second, those who for years have been your party colleagues and are now only too anxious to hear you "explain your explanation"; third (and quite onthusiastic), those who fondly hope your defection from the main body of Conservatives may further Liberal interests; fourth, those who are not active politicians, but as independent

electors, honestly aim at exercising their franchise in the best interests of Canada as a whole.

Allow me, sir, to improve the occasion by recalling the fact that you are responsible to a larger body than that embraced by the boundaries of the constituency you represent; men who redeemed North Simcoe, who held high the principles of Conservatives, who gloried in bearing the standard of our late great chieftain to victory; these deserve all honor; the laurels were theirs; to them you owe much. But there are others who should not be blamed for feeling aggrieved, if not indignant, at the attitude recently assumed by you, knowing it to be contrary to pledges given during the last general election, and contrary, in every respect to the opinions held by you when accepting the position of president of the Conservative Union of Ontario. The scant courtesy with which those who always co-operated with you have been treated is, however, a matter of secondary importance. You turned the cold shoulder towards them, perhaps from a patriotic standpoint; patriotism, however, is self-denying, considerate, disinterested, long-suffering; do you possess these attributes? Have you, at any time, made sacrifices, either in or out of Parliament, for the Conservative party? I am speaking now as a candid friend, not in any spirit of bitterness or acrimony, for it is only painful to recall the fact that when our revered leader, Sir John Macdonald, was summoned to his last resting place

#### YOU WERE THE FIRST TO SIGN

a written declaration to the effect that "we, remembering his patriotic counsels and noble example, would earnestly endeavor to carry on the great work so dear to his heart and for which he labored so long and so successfully." What followed? While your comrades in arms were defending the citadel, you deserted your post, crossed the Atlantic and remained until the clouds had seemingly passed away.

I have said, sir, that you made pledges during the general election. You denied that in Parliament, quoting various passages from your speeches, but omitting a very important one, which will be found in *The Mail* of the 13th of February, 1891, in which at the nomination you said: "I will support Sir John

Macdonald in his general policy. If I swerved from the true principles of Liberal Conservatism I have done so unknowingly, but on certain questions I have made my own I differed from my party leaders." To-day you assert that you were returned as an independent Conservative; that is a free lance, but in reality a Conservative for election only. What do your utterances prove? That you solemnly promised to support the party policy, explaining at the time, that certain questions you had made your own were the issues upon which there were differences. What were these? The Jesuit Act (and Mercier's cohorts now cheer you in Parliament and Mercier's admirers vote with you), dual language and Manitoba schools. Consequently, we must find what Sir John Macdonald said and what you pledged yourself to do. Allow me to briefly quote from the great Conservative's manifesto, issued before you made your speech:

"As in 1878, 1882 and again in 1887, so in 1891 do questions relating to the trade and commerce of the country occupy a foremost place. Our policy in respect thereto is to-day what it has been for the past 13 years—a firm determination to foster and develop the various resources of the Dominion by every means in our power, consistent with Canada's position as an integral portion of the British Empire."

And yet you, sir, allege that neither promise, pledge nor solemn agreement binds you to maintain the policy bequeathed by Sir John Macdonald to the Conservatives of the Dominion? More than that, in the speech you delivered at Stayner on the 25th of January, 1893, you declared: "For the first time since I have been in public life, a Conservative Government has been formed without my being consulted." What! always consulted? Logically, then, you doubly betray your party friends, for their policy must have been precisely what you anticipated. You brought the Hon. John Haggart, the Hon. G. E. Foster and that brilliant lawyer, Sir John Thompson, into the Administration and now are grumbling at the product of your own handiwork! Fie! Fie! sir; you must choose

#### EITHER HORN OF THE DILEMMA

and proceed to sit thereon. It may be uncomfortable, but certainly you deserve to do some modicum of penance. I hold,

sir, that your position is untenable—doubly so, when before the Stayner audience you *made this declaration* “it is not so much a question of policy that has driven me out of the ranks,” and now assert that “tariff and tariff reform” alone prompted you to violate pledges uttered in 1891. Are you made of the stuff to lead the lost tribes out of the wilderness? I fear not; so must all who have watched your political career.

Again, sir, how is your present position reconcilable with declared utterances in Parliament in 1892? I find (page 3,790 Official Debates, June 15th, 1892) you said, referring to your action upon the “Representation” Bill:

“I did not mean it as a vote of want of confidence. *I still have confidence in the Trade Policy of the Government*; I still have confidence in the General Policy. . . . IF THERE WAS NOW ANY DANGER OF THE TRADE POLICY of the hon. gentlemen opposite succeeding, I would not be embarrassing the Government, as I may be by my attitude upon this question.”

Why the change, I ask? Since then, a sweeping victory for the Democrats augured tariff changes in the United States; since then the Finance Minister of Canada, the Hon. Geo. E. Foster, announced the result of reductions in sugar duties and promised entire revision in 1894, when suddenly you, after threatening your wilhelm friends and colleagues, faced about and constituted yourself the champion of Tariff Reform. Everything in fact seemed to suggest caution. Was such hasty action inspired by patriotism, or was it a vindictive desire to stab your former associates, to be revenged for a seeming slight, to seek satisfaction for wounded vanity?

To-night the great audience at Toronto will taste the curative remedy you propose administering the panacea for alleged public ills and wrongs and tribulations which has been evolved out of the prolific crucible of your economic profundity. If then you are sincere, hold fast to one idea, one principle, and stand or fall by it. Be warned by the awful fate of those devoid of stability; ponder over the illustrious example of the Hon. Edward Blake, who, after sturdily battling against the National Policy from 1878 until 1887, was forced to declare that “it was clearer than ever that a very high scale of taxation must be retained and that manufacturers had nothing to fear.” Think of the ever changing and changeable Liberals, with their unre-

stricted reciprocity fad, their continental union monstrosity, their free trade hallucinations, and pause ere enunciating a new departure. You may be applauded for a time; so are demagogues; but the sober second thought of an intelligent people, is more to be feared, than interested applause is to be coveted. What then would be the duty of a statesman, under the circumstances? Certainly not to mislead, not to deceive, not to exaggerate. This being so—for I presume you are honest in your new crusade—take your audience back to the days when the ablest men of the old Provinces sought and found a cure for the strife and acrimony of former years; when chronic sectional discord poisoned the body politic, retarded the progress of the country and imperilled every interest dear to those who loved their native land. Great statesmen united, a compromise was effected, the claims of Upper Canada were acknowledged, and a solemn covenant entered into, that the privileges of other portions of the Dominion would be conserved, and even prejudices respected. More sir, from the tenor of the

RESOLUTION MOVED BY YOU

at the last session of Parliament, it may be anticipated that you will paint with a brush dipped in the blackest colors of despair the position of the people of the Dominion, more particularly the farming community. Prove the allegation, if you can; but give the facts as a layman and a patriot, not as a special pleader and irate politician. Some one has said that when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his belief. On the 25th of January last, you became convinced that everything was going wrong; that the men you (after being consulted) had been instrumental in elevating to positions at the council board years ago, were not sufficiently sagacious, and that it devolved upon you to save your country—you naturally (during such limited time as your duties at the bar would permit) conjured up a policy, and, strange to say, embraced the principle against which you had recorded your vote in 1892, namely, that moved by Mr. Davies, of Prince Edward Island, on the 25th of April, as follows:

“Inasmuch as Great Britain admits the products of Canada



into her ports, free of duty, this House is of opinion that the present scale of duties exacted on goods mainly imported from Great Britain should be reduced."

Now, if you did not know your own mind in 1892, can the public rest assured that you know it in 1893? Or, if you change it now, that you will be steadfast up to the hour the Speaker takes the chair in 1894? Sir, I fear that you cannot be a prominent lawyer and a paragon of statesmanship as well. The combination will not work. Others have tried it and failed, failed egregiously. I cannot believe that the man who fought side by side with those who advocated the National Policy from 1874 until 1878, with those who stormed the Liberal ramparts and captured the citadel, who afterwards sat in Parliament with members of the "Old Guard" and swore allegiance to his leader, now desires to destroy the edifice erected by master workmen. Still, sir, your actions, your speeches, your expressed opinions, your recorded utterances, fully justify a suspicion that all is not right, and it only remains for those who have been maligned and misrepresented to give reasons for the faith that is in them; to furnish proof that you are mistaken, and to establish the fact that you, without having given mature consideration to matters of state importance, jumped at conclusions, and assumed a position more thoughtful men would have avoided. Statesmanship never urges a nation to

#### TAKE A LEAP IN THE DARK

and to trust to luck for a soft spot whereon to fall. Rather does it weigh well every important situation, ponder over various emergencies, and gather philosophy from the teachings of history. Has this been your policy? If so, the lesson learned has produced an extraordinary effect.

Now sir, let us deal with public records, seeking to discover wherein the Conservative party has either deceived, cajoled, misled or oppressed those who, since 1878, placed confidence in their judgment? When Confederation was proclaimed, certain debts and certain per capita allowances were guaranteed the various provinces, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island subsequently entering the union. Canada agreed to build the

Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island Railways, determined to secure the North West Territories and ultimately to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. The war between the North and South had ceased; still every interest was disturbed and Canada profited thereby, under a 15½ per cent. tariff. The Dominion revenue at Confederation was \$13,600,000, and in 1872 had increased to \$19,335,000, when an aggregate surplus of \$3,712,479.09 was announced by Sir Leonard Tilley, who stated that \$6,104,027.58 had been expended out of current revenue on important public works and in the acquisition of the North West Territories. More than this, reductions in duties were made by which, tea, yielding \$1,000,000 and coffee \$2,000,000, were placed upon the free list. The general election took place in that year, and what were the issues? Sir John Macdonald was condemned and anathematized for agreeing to the Washington Treaty (although four or five of those who voted sustaining the treaty were afterwards taken into the Liberal Government) sectional issues were discussed, and sectional passions were aroused; Nova Scotia was held up to public indignation in Ontario—just as the agriculturists to-day are being urged to believe that the manufacturers are their natural enemies—and all along the line prejudices, section, race, were invoked to compass the downfall of Sir John Macdonald's Government. It withstood the attack, as you know, sir, although badly shaken,—its Finance Minister defeated, and a bevy of weak-kneed politicians returned from some constituencies, ostensibly to support the Government, but in reality to look for, and, if possible, accept a portfolio from either party. Then came the unfortunate Allan election fund disclosures and the Liberals vaulted into the Treasury Benches. A general election followed, and the waves appeared to have swallowed the Conservative forces. I mention this, because it is an object lesson not to be cast aside with the ease that a sailor throws off his jacket. The electors were made drunk with declamation, they were maddened by passionate harangues, and handed their interests over to a body of politicians, without thinking, or seemingly caring, for results. Do you remember the consequences? Certainly—for it was in the gloomy days of financial depression, when the best went

down and the bravest became timorous. Taxes were increased; the burthen was again replaced upon the breakfast table; in short, hard times and taxes, taxes, taxes, signalized the regime of those 'prentice statesmen, who professed to have a cure for every national ill—just as you are doing—reckless of all consequences.

In 1876, Sir Richard Cartwright, then Finance Minister, was obliged to tell his doleful story, with this reassuring addenda: "I think this country will be able to weather, without permanent injury, the commercial squall, the commercial tornado if you will, by which it is at present assailed." The public distress, the agricultural depression, the anxiety of farmers for protection (for interests of manufacturers and husbandmen were being slaughtered by the recovered and growing industries of the United States) enabled you to gain a seat in Parliament, and you were present when, in 1878, from his death bed as Finance Minister, Sir Richard Cartwright moaned: "Sir, to condemn us in the present state of our finances, because we are unable to undertake new enterprises, is as unreasonable as if the passengers were to rise in mutiny against the captain and crew because they were unable to make progress towards port, while obliged to lie to in a storm." Meanwhile, every farming association clamored for a change, in the direction of

#### PROTECTING THE HOME MARKET.

The Premier of Quebec, Hon. H. G. Joly, urged it, while the Grangers petitioned "for such protection as will secure the home market for the home producer." The Liberals had hoped to bring about reciprocity; they failed, and then in 1878, the farmer's, as well as the manufacturer's policy, was advocated. Added to this, a solemn pledge was made that the Canadian Pacific would be rapidly built to the coast; the North-west developed and the tariff so revised as to encourage not only the industries of the factory, but those of the field as well. In no particular did the Conservatives shirk responsibility; in no manner, direct or indirect, did they seek to escape from their obligations; and you, sir, from your seat in Parliament, cheered to the echo the announcement made by Sir Leonard Tilley in 1882 that there was a surplus of millions in the treasury, that

the country was prospering, interest charges had decreased, the Canadian Pacific railway was crossing the vast prairies of the west, and taxes, aggregating \$1,500,000, had been remitted—the tax on tea again removed, the taxes on newspapers and bill stamps taken off, and articles, \$100,000 in value, placed upon the free list! Was that party worthy of confidence, or was it not? Was it, is it, the party whose policy is burdensome, oppressive, unjust?

Well, sir, the Conservative Government was heartily sustained by the electorate; if ever men toiled industriously in the interests of the country, those men were Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Leonard Tilley, the Hon. John Henry Pope, the administrators of departments more closely connected with the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway. From the hour the land grant resolutions were introduced they had to contend against an

#### UNRELENTING AND UNREASONING OPPOSITION.

The North-west policy was sneered at, the Pacific railway would never be finished, and would at any rate drag the country to ruin; the National Policy was legalized robbery, and nought save national disaster and national bankruptcy could be anticipated in the black future. Dakota was the land of promise, Kansas the El Dorado, while, added to the many obstacles in the path of the great leader and his associates, law and order had to be maintained, justice administered and the constitution vindicated. Let me draw the veil over these melancholy reminiscences, nor dwell upon the ferocity with which even this act in the national drama, was utilized by politicians you are now, perhaps unwittingly, assisting to destroy those who were so long your associates. Sir, you erred even in those days, for while our French-Canadian compatriots were striving to allay the passionate outburst of national feeling, you embraced the opportunity to publicly assert that "the French-Canadians, were a menace to the confederacy." You succeeded in your election in 1887, but many a true supporter of the Conservative party in Quebec had to face the charge that he was your friend, and that you were the enemy of a people who, while they possessed cer-

tain national preferences, yet were, and are loyal to the crown of Great Britain, and true to the best interests of their native country. If there is what you term "unrest," if there is "racial" prejudice, if protests are heard against outraged sentiment, who is responsible? We have a constitution, a federal compact, sufficiently broad; we have a population, sufficiently intelligent and public-spirited, without requiring the protecting championship of Protestant rights by any one man or any dozen men. You now contemplate, I fear, a policy eminently calculated to convince the yeoman of Canada that the manufacturer is his deadly enemy. And of such is the kingdom of statesmanship!

I have referred to the general election of 1891,

YOUR PROMISES, YOUR PLEDGES, YOUR DECLARATIONS.

What caused the change that came over the spirit of your dream—for I beg to cast the mantle of charity and call it a dream? You, sir, professed to serve under Sir John Abbott; you entered no protest against Sir John Thompson becoming Premier; in fact, you did not care to come into the Government in 1884—preferring legal life and its emoluments—and you fully acquiesced in your leader's choice of Sir John Thompson. That gentleman stepped from the bench and all its honors, to respond to the call of the Prime Minister. Providence ordained that he should attain the highest position in political life—and now you are inimical to him; you do not admire him, and, like an angry boy, find fault with your breakfast and turn up your nose at even the luxuries of a good dinner. Perhaps, though, some awful exposé of financial blundering came to your knowledge in 1892? No, that could not be; the Finance Minister was able to take duties off sugar which would have yielded over \$5,000,000 on the basis of the taxation of 1890-91. More than this, it was shown, prior to the melancholy resolution introduced by you, that the per capita customs burden in 1891-92, was \$4.25, being a reduction of 76 cents per head. In fact, the total duty collected in 1891-92, from customs, was smaller than in the year 1882, by \$1,200,000; than in 1883, by \$2,500,000; than in 1887, by \$2,000,000; than in 1889-90, by \$3,500,000, and, as Mr. Foster remarked, "showing that the contention is true that the present

Government, in the furtherance of its policy, is from year to year

MATERIALLY REDUCING THE TAXATION

of the country." What more do you want, sir, and what has changed your opinion? In 1888, when Liberals endeavored to show that the National Policy was ruinous to Canada, you, sir, were the first to manifest surprise and indignation; on that occasion, April, 1888, you exclaimed: "Sir, it will be found that the policy we adopted here and which the country has twice since ratified, by a very large vote, has been on the whole beneficial, and that whatever we may be now said to be laboring under, is not attributable to the policy of protection, or the policy known as the National Policy, but to causes over which we, in this Parliament, have no more control than the people of Great Britain or the people of the United States." Well, sir, you repeated that, to all intents and purposes, in 1891 and again in 1892 as will be found in the official debates; hence, it could not be the terrible "trusts" and "combines" which caused you to change, for they existed in 1888, and the same derangement of trade is noticeable in Great Britain and the United States today that was referred to in 1888. You cannot therefore with fairness, blame the National Policy, the tariff or the Conservatives. My dear sir, there must be other reasons. Did any mischievous creature put hickory shells between the sheets? I fear so.

Permit me to refer to the last policy propounded by you, namely, discrimination in favor of Great Britain. You now assert that "sufficient time has elapsed" to fully develop Canadian industries, and you appear to imagine that you deal with a jury case where his lordship has announced that he will have to proceed on circuit in twenty-four hours. For instance, you made up your mind in December, 1892, or January, 1893, or perhaps in February, 1893, that "something must be done," and forthwith come to the conclusion that duties favoring industries "must go." Now, sir, have you, since delivering a semi-protection speech in 1878, striven to master fiscal and economic questions? If not, in all your day dreams do not imagine that when Canada suffers, all necessary is that you forsake your briefs

for a day, place your hands upon even imaginary wounds and thus supply curative treatment. To you finance is an idealized pursuit; you never followed it. Even Lord Russell and other illustrious men committed the blunder of expressing a desire to abandon politics for literature; the application of Horace's first Satire will at once occur to you: the soldier would be a merchant, the farmer would be a lawyer, the lawyer a great statesman. After all, as has been said, the innocence of childhood mysteriously remains with every human being. You are convinced, sir, that fourteen years of encouragement for a country lying alongside 65,000,000 people, whose industries have been strengthened by thirty years of high protection, is quite sufficient, and Great Britain is held up as a paragon of perfection in this regard. I challenge you, sir, or anyone who believes in

YOUR SPASMODIC DOCTRINES,

to candidly compare the policy of Canada, at any period of her industrial development, with that of the mother-country for two centuries before her statesmen adopted free trade. Why, sir, the footprints of the British lion were embedded in every factory; they guarded the shores lest the artisan might carry his skill to another country; they made him an exile and alien if he went to the colonies. Tell your audience to-night that it was quite right and proper for the 8th Elizabeth (chap. 3) to make "the transportation of live sheep, or embarking them on board any ship, imprisonment for one year, and at the end of the year the left hand to be cut off in some publicmarket, and there nailed up." Tell your audience that you see nothing wrong in the provision of a statute, 5 Geo. I, chap. 27.—providing "Artificers going into foreign countries and not returning in six months after warning given to them by the British ambassador where they reside, shall be deemed aliens, and forfeit their lands and goods, etc." Then, sir, tell them that you are proud of Great Britain as a Free Trade paradise, but that the statutes prohibiting artificers going abroad were not formally repealed until 1825, while the prohibition of the exportation of flax machinery "remained as late as 1842." To-day a system of internal taxation, low wages and local rates, grinds rich as well as poor, and no one is more conversant with

this than the member for North Simcoe. You must not forget, sir, that the convert to a doctrine or a theory, or a principle or a mistake, is usually more enthusiastic than men who for years pulled the laboring oar; old heads will overlook your exuberance, but your Liberal bottle-holders will, in all probability, tell you to save your wind, for even that old Free Trader, the lamented George Brown, when negotiating the Brown-Thornton treaty in 1874, was not willing to jeopardize what were then most truly infant industries. One of the propositions was that "the new treaty shall be for the term of twenty-one years, to inspire confidence amongst business men investing their capital in such extensive enterprises as would naturally follow from the completion of a comprehensive treaty." And yet you, sir, would deliberately endanger the interests of those you induced to embark in business, simply because a whim suggests such course. "But," you answer, "I am only against monopolies." Let your Liberal coadjutor, Mr. Patterson, the member for Brant, answer that, as he did on the 16th February last, when saying:

"Take the list of failures that occurred during the Mackenzie administration among the manufacturers of this country, and take the record of failures among the manufacturing classes since the inception of the National Policy, and I venture to say you will find more capital sunk, wasted and destroyed under the National Policy than there was during the whole time the Mackenzie Government was in power."

And yet you believe that the manufacturer is a pampered child of fortune; while the Liberal who cheered you says he is the

#### MOST UNFORTUNATE WRETCH ON EARTH.

You profess to be convinced that the National Policy has created trusts and combinations and all manner of dangerous catals, conspiracies and plots against the consumer. This could not, of course, occur in a Free Trade country. I am sure your lengthened and studious investigation into the labyrinths and meshes of home and foreign commerce must have enabled you to speak with authority. Why, then, my dear sir, were you so forgetful as to overlook giving credit to the mother of trusts and "com-bines," when referring to the subject? Great Britain, in one form



or another, has for many years not only endured, but in some instances encouraged "trusts" and "combines," in the form of limited stock companies and by other methods. Tell your audience, then, that in the United States the oil trusts, some representing \$150,000,000, the whiskey trusts, representing fabulous resources, are not encouraged, maintained, assisted or vitalized by protective tariffs; nothing they make is subject to a protective duty. And yet they exist and flourish like bay-trees! In England is centred a trust or "combine" of all the plate glass manufacturers in Europe. Take the following circular as a specimen, dated from London. It reads:

"DEAR SIR—We beg to inform you that the Associated Plate Glass Manufacturers have revised their prices for plate glass of all descriptions. We enclose you herewith our tariff of prices. (Signed) London and Manchester Plate Glass Manufacturing Company, Union Plate Glass Company, Pilkington Bros., A. de Granderry, agent-general of glasseries, Belgium."

What say you to this? "Associates" is a fine British term, is it not? Then there are "trusts" in china and earthenware. I quote from an article in *The London Pottery Gazette*, March 10, 1888. It says:

"If any manufacturers are not true to the rules of the new association, the bond they will have signed will enable their fellow-manufacturers to sell them up, 'rump and stamp.' \* \* \* The scheme has just been successful with the china manufacturers. They have just obtained a second advance." Again: "If the keen buyers, who always want to beggar the trade and reduce prices, say to a manufacturer who will not sell at lower than the fixed rate, 'Well, if I am forced to pay the association, all right; if you buy from another and I have to stand for orders I shall get my pull out of your business, for our rules will not let me suffer through refusing to reduce at your request.'"

Well, well, well! My dear sir, do not fail to impress these facts upon the Toronto audience; tell them too, that there are tin trusts, iron trusts, electric trusts and various other combinations, having the base of their operations in free trade Great Britain. In fact, Englishmen do not appear to worry about trusts, the consensus of opinion being, according to reports made

to the Imperial Government in 1890 by Mr. Edwards, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Washington, that prices have not been increased, rather lowered, consequent upon larger capital being invested. Be this as it may, free trade countries are too often

#### THE CENTRES OF TRUSTS.

and you, sir, must not blame the National Policy for wicked "combines" on the other side of the Atlantic. Is that a reasonable proposition?

Then, sir, you have from your place in Parliament, by resolution, declared that the tariff is "oppressive and burdensome to the great mass of consuming classes." You made the statement, but wisely refrained from attempting to sustain it by figures. Like an ordinary Liberal, you selected certain articles suitable for your argument, made assertions and ran away from the subject. I ask you, what has been accomplished for Canada under the National Policy? Burdensome—in what manner, to what degree? The returns conveniently at hand are those of 1891; the total amount of duties collected upon \$74,536,036 for all the provinces, being \$23,416,266; over \$9,000,000 on British, and \$7,734,000 on United State products. This shows 38 per cent. on goods from the States. Forty-four per cent. of imports from the latter country were raw material, coming in free, only 25 per cent. from Great Britain being free. From the West Indies we imported dutiable goods amounting to \$1,337,754; From Germany, \$1,320,583; from France, \$932,033; from Holland, \$741,462. The North-West, with a population of nearly 100,000, paid duties equivalent to \$42,241, not an excessive amount assuredly. Luxuries from Great Britain and France were paid for by the wealthy. Raw material from the United States was manufactured in Canada and sold at prices lower than has been known for many years. Why, sir, if you desire to do what is fair and above board, do you not schedule the imports upon which duty is paid, and let the farmer know, approximately, what he pays and what other business men and industrial classes generally, have to pay? You do not appear anxious to make the farmer of Canada feel contented. You do not want him to know that by the operation of the National Policy, he can

## BUY NOW CHEAPER THAN EVER,

and at the same time find a market for the smaller products of his field or garden, consequent upon being in proximity to a factory. From your lips, from your recorded utterances, I will prove that the Canadian farmer is a happy and prosperous man, compared with those of other countries. Here is an extract, read to prove the utter misery in which the American agriculturist lives (page 2,416 official debates 1893); it was quoted by you, from 'The Chicago Herald:' "In the 30 years of protection the typical American farmer, with whom we were familiar, has been changed from a well dressed, well read, independent and spirited man to a scare crow, with vacant eyes and gaping mouth, with the inevitable confidence man near at hand." How will the Canadian husbandman appreciate the picture? Sir, you used this as a knockdown argument against protection; but turning back to page 2,401 of the same debate, you just as confidently declare: "The English farmers are worse off than the farmers in any other part of the world." How do you reconcile the two positions? The protected American a mere scare-crow; the free trade Britisher "worse off than any other man in the world." One ruined and degraded by 30 years of protection; the other utterly prostrated and his individuality destroyed by 40 years of free trade. There is a screw loose somewhere. Why not, in the interest of civilization, seek to find and adjust it? Have you at any time enjoyed sufficient leisure to

## TRACE THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA?

Gradual, did I say? Rather the marvellous progress accomplished since 1867? Have you, at any time, when our opponents were proclaiming the destruction and decay of the Dominion, looked into the public accounts to discover how the "oppressive and burdensome" taxes were expended? You are responsible, as a private member, for every dollar voted by Parliament since 1878, and by your voice defended the actions of your party friends, from 1867 until 1873; hence it goes almost without saying, that you will explain to the assembled multitude to-night, how the national taxes were expended and the statesmanship which

directed their application to various services. Tell them, sir, that at Confederation the net debt assumed by Canada on June 30th was \$75,728,641.37; that would be a fair starting point. Subsequently allowance to provinces were increased by \$30,743,392.69, making a fixed charge on account of the union of \$106,472,034.06. Thus the net debt on June 30, 1892, being \$241,131,434.44, you can show that the increase since Confederation (outside the settlement of provincial allowances above mentioned) for Canada's great railways, marvellous canal improvements, public works and new provinces, has only been \$134,659,400.38! Then, sir, deduct from the latter sum assets, \$70,540,823.29 (according to the public accounts) and but \$64,118,577.08 remains to be accounted for! On railways, canals and public works Canada has, up to last year, expended the following sums:

Canadian Pacific railway.....	\$62,044,159 08
Intercolonial railway (and connections).....	44,228,134 82
P. E. Island railway.....	635,830 27
Canals.....	36,612,300 81
Public works.....	8,800,971 09
Total.....	\$152,321,396 07
Added to this further expenditures have been—	
Dominion lands account.....	\$3,304,876 76
Territorial accounts.....	3,791,727 73
Railway subsidies.....	10,784,908 27
Expenses of and discounts on loans.....	10,824,047 70
Allowances to provinces (referred to).....	30,743,047 70
Consolidated fund transfers (including land returned by C.P.R. and fishery award).....	6,353,839 23
North Shore railway bonds.....	970,000 00
Deficits (\$38,518,513.12 of surpluses included in the \$70,- 540,823.29 of assets).....	16,849,427 36
Total.....	\$83,622,220 29

Or, a total of \$235,943,616.36 — from which in all fairness the payments to provinces, assets, etc., must be deducted. This being done, sir, you can, I think, without doing violence to your conscience.

**WITHDRAW THE BOLD DECLARATION.**

that the policy of the Government has been oppressive or justifies in any manner whatsoever the declaration that a loyal people

have become discontented and disloyal by reason of taxation ! What more has Canada secured in return for the courageous policy adopted by her statesmen ? The Canadian Pacific railway, upon which \$160,000,000, exclusive of Government aid, has been expended ; upon which \$16,000,000 additional has been incurred for equipment, and 25,000 employees made prosperous, contented and happy. Perhaps these are some of the "disloyal" and unhappy people, made miserable by the construction of a work of which every honest citizen should be proud ? "But," some of your audience may say, "any Government could have constructed the road." Not so ; in the carrying out of all great national enterprises, three essentials are necessary : National credit, courageous statecraft and administrative confidence in the country. You know, my dear sir, had the Government or the Conservative party faltered in 1884, the Dominion would have been shaken to its centre by a financial upheaval. Even after the road was constructed and in operation, Sir Richard Cartwright's stock of blue ruin had not been exhausted, for you must remember his declaration made in the House of Commons on the 30th of March, 1886 :

"I would be very glad to believe that the Canadian Pacific railway was about to be a financial success. \* \* \* At any rate, as regards their main line, they will find it a somewhat difficult problem to make it pay on the basis of a fertile territory of 400 miles or thereabouts, which will be obliged to defray all the expenses of working a railway something like 2,400 miles in length. \* \* \* I am afraid, so far as this country is concerned, it will prove that the undue haste of construction has been a grave economic blunder."

A blunder, forsooth ! Had the road not been pushed forward at the time proposed, it would not to-day have reached the Pacific ! Tell your audience, sir, remind them often, too, that the men whose foresight enabled Canada to accomplish this, are not likely to be blind to the interests of the bone and sinew upon which they depend, namely, the farmers. "Binder twine," "coal oil," "barbed wire,"—what a triplet for you, sir, to carry through the country and offer as apologies for deserting your post ! One thing about the situation is quite as interesting as novel, and really your friends enjoy it immensely, to wit, the member for North Simcoe appearing in the interests of the oppressed farmer

—without a fee! I am digressing; excuse me. I called attention to the fact that your bowing acquaintances (it is to be hoped the hugging point has not yet been reached) never believed that the Canadian Pacific railway would pay, while the Conservatives, having taxed the people, were determined to give them full value in return. The road was finished five years before the time agreed upon, and in 1886 transacted a total business of \$10,081,803.59; carried 1,899,319 passengers, 2,046,195 tons of freight, and showed net earnings amounting to \$3,703,486.54. Mark the progress. In 1891 the railway carried 3,165,507 passengers, the revenue being \$20,241,095.98; conveyed 3,856,710 tons of freight, the net earnings being \$8,009,659.87. To-day the various cars required total nearly 18,000, while 600 locomotives are included in the equipment. Talk about your "5,000,000," and "exodus," and "discontent," and "disloyalty"! Ask any true Canadian, any sturdy British subject in your audience to-night, where a similar number of people on the face of the earth could be found capable of building that splendid work? Why, sir, it is a living truth, announcing trumpet-tongued, that he who says Canadians are poor, over-taxed, discontented, disloyal, slanders the country, and proclaims his ignorance and his prejudice, or both. Tell your audience, sir, at the same time, that depression in trade, low prices of agricultural products, a cramped iron market (always a fair index of the world's prosperity), strikes (in free trade Great Britain too), Australian troubles, Argentine disasters, are the rule and not the exception, and have conjointly operated to bring about extreme financial stringency. When there is a break, all classes experience relief. Tell them, too, that were our markets now, as between 1874 and 1878, open to the American slaughterer, most of our artisans would be working on half-time and the smaller products of the farm be

#### DECAYING IN CELLARS AND OUTHOUSES.

Recently, in England, the editor of *The Fortnightly Review* forwarded circulars to 300 bankers, merchants, manufacturers and others, the answers appearing in that periodical for March; these are a complete reply to the insinuation that Canada's tariff is responsible for the farmer's prices being low. Many of the

shrewdest observers, Messrs. F. & J. Harvard, for instance, in their answers say: "The depression is caused chiefly by the long continued depression in agriculture, which is, and must be, the foundation industry of the country." Others declare that "it would seem the appreciation of gold is injuring our manufactures, our trade and our commerce." So free trade England groans under a weary waiting and watching, Germany pours in her industries, and we are asked to immolate ourselves upon a similar altar! I ask you, sir, in all sincerity, if you believed discontent was undermining the loyalty of the masses to the British crown—what was your duty? To add fuel to the fire by joining in the hue-and-cry? To aggravate discontent by openly proclaiming that you, a life-long Conservative, felt so keenly the wrongs of the people that you were justified in stabbing your old friends, giving as a reason that you were not consulted in the formation of a Government? Do you mean to insinuate that you knew these grievances existed, that you were convinced grave wrongs were being perpetrated, that you

KEPT THE DARK SECRET CONCEALED,

willing the commonwealth should decay, so long as you were permitted to dictate to a Prime Minister who should and who should not be appointed to high offices in the gift of the Crown? If you did, how unfit a guide, a counsellor, an adviser! If you did not know, and were not convinced until January, 1893, then, most assuredly, you are in a deplorably suspicious and unenviable predicament. The urchin who in haste put his trowsers on back to front, and afterwards squalled in the street because he could not tell whether he was going home or going to school, was certainly not in a worse predicament.

There is another subject you may possibly take an interest in to-night; at all events, it would be reasonable to explain to your audience, providing the tariff on British goods is to be decreased one-third, the goods of Germany in a similar ratio, together with the imports of various other countries having treaties with Great Britain, notably Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Colombia, Hamburg, Costa Rica, Prussia and half a score of others—enjoying the rights of favored nations—how the fixed charges against

the revenue of Canada are to be met, while at the same time we but invite the enmity of the United States? The charges on our public debt, exceeding \$10,000,000, must be paid; subsidies to Provinces, exceeding \$4,000,000, must be paid; the sinking fund, close upon \$2,000,000, must be provided for; cost of collection of revenue, exceeding \$8,000,000, must be in the treasury. These would closely total \$25,000,000. Then, with civil government, justice, fisheries, Northwest Territories, legislation, militia, mounted police, public works and a score of smaller items, at least \$10,000,000 more would be added, or a necessary revenue of \$35,000,000. Tell your audience

#### HOW YOU PROPOSE TO RAISE THIS

and meet the country's requirements? Explain to the people present that Great Britain extends to every country similar privileges to those we enjoy, and that Englishmen invest millions of pounds sterling in the United States where they invest thousands in Canada. In short, that the British investor is not trading and loaning simply for the promotion of his health. Until you can show that Canada, through the intervention of the mother country, enjoys tariff advantages superior to other nations, pray do not base your ill-fledged bantling's claims for sympathy upon the fact that Canadian products are admitted free of duty into the United Kingdom. Take a few pounds of tobacco over, the next time you visit the land we all love so much, and perhaps you may not thereafter be enamored of British free trade.

I know you to be a thinking man—professional training did that—consequently I am convinced that you intend to drop the latest accession to your collection of weapons of disturbance, and simply seek to create dissatisfaction in the public mind; in short, you wish to prove to those who, only in your imagination, have slighted you, that you are after all, "some pumpkins," as the Yankees say. Well, that would be poor consolation, unworthy a prominent man and dishonest on the part of a parliamentary representative. This being so, why not forgo the experiment of fancy gardening in barren soil, and study the legitimate and real interests of the Canadian farmer, as well as what is best for the whole Canadian family? We are all too prone to congrat-



ulate ourselves upon being in possession of faculties superior to our neighbours, and too often those in other walks of life, in a moment of prosperity, question the ready intellect of a man who toils upon his farm, sees little of social life, but is as honest and independent as any human being. In Canada, our highest municipal officers, some of our ablest provincial legislators, many of our ornaments in the House of Commons, are farmers; consequently, the idea that these can be misled and deceived by mere statements and assertions, or be convinced that they are poor when prosperous, or induced to believe that in other countries the farmer is more wealthy, when they know otherwise, is simply labor lost, and the blunderer who adopts such a policy

USUALLY COMES TO GRIEF.

For instance, the farmer and his sons have watched closely legislation since 1878; they have sustained the National Policy; they have done well under it, and it would be difficult to get them to try experiments again. They know, just as well as others, that you, my dear sir, are wrong in advocating the removal of the tariff wall at present; they know, too, that substantial benefits from this policy cannot accrue by uncertain application of its principles; they realize that the development of scientific agriculture must be preceded by an extensively diversified industry, and the larger the population surrounding or adjacent to them, the greater the results. As has been truly said, there alone can they secure those accessions which enable them to repay, promptly and repeatedly, the vegetative constituents abstracted by the process of tillage—constituents lost permanently to the soil by the butchery of a rude and ignorant cultivation. Perhaps no man has turned the flash light of intelligence upon this important subject, with greater practical force, than Professor J. W. Robertson, formerly of Guelph, and now attached to the Experimental Farm Department at Ottawa. That official has rendered important services to the Dominion; few farmers have read or listened to his opinions without greatly benefitting thereby. This gentleman has opened a field wherein the practical farmer can work and snap his fingers at the

difference between 10 gallons of coal oil at 30 cents per gallon or 10 gallons at 15 or 20 cents. In Great Britain, Professor Robertson fairly opened the eyes of the lethargic farmer, *Bell's Messenger*, the leading agricultural newspaper, remarking (March 20, 1893); "When, we would ask, will the British Government take as much trouble to inform the British farmer on the requirements of the markets of even his own country?" Surely, my dear sir, this is a subject worthy the intellectual efforts of men who desire to assist those they represent. To give the farmer heart, to stimulate his energies, to point upward and onward; to convince him that he has a profession, a calling worthy the best in the land; to cheer him on his way, and to prove to him that the abundance of the earth is his, if he but

#### TURN A DEAF EAR TO DEMAGOGUES

and open ears to those who have his interests truly at heart; to prove to him that the price he sells at, is more important than the price he hangs, for a few goods—surely this would be worthy the ambition of a state man! In a recent address Professor Robertson sounds the key note when saying: "I do not like anybody who tries to create a feeling of antagonism between the townsman and the country-man. The townsman is a customer of the countryman, and the countryman is a customer of the townsman, and there should be no antagonism. If their interests are not identical, they are, at least, harmonious. All efforts to create distrust and dislike between the agricultural and manufacturing interests, should be refrained from. As the town grows the country makes some progress; they mutually benefit each other." Is there not a lesson in these remarks? Is it not better to bid mankind look up, than to preach despondency and gloom? Is it not reaching a higher level to use the intellect God has endowed man with, striving to attain practical results? I have seen many letters written to Professor Robertson, by dairy farmers, thanking him for his advice and acknowledging the benefits, amounting to hundreds of dollars, derived from a timely hint and a practical suggestion. Thousands of farmers, probably, have yet to learn that in every ton of barley they sell there are 32 pounds of nitrogen, 15½ of

phosphoric acid and nine of potash. If farmers will persist in selling a ton of hay for \$30—they will sell as much of the fertility of the farm as they will dispose of in two tons of fat swine for \$200. If they sell fat beef they will sell about one half more for \$200 than they sell in the other case of primitive products for \$30. If they sell cheese, they will get for the cheese \$200 a ton, and sell less in one ton than in two and one-half tons of hay for \$25. If a man sells a ton of hay for \$10 he will sell about 65 times more out of his farm for that sum than he will for \$500 in butter at 25 cents a pound. Why not, then, encourage the husbandman, just as Mr. Mowat promises in his recent speech; just as the Dominion Government has been and is doing, urging him to adopt and apply scientific methods, leaving to those at the head of affairs, subject to the sanction of Parliament, such changes and reforms in the tariff as the country demands or the necessities of the country justify? Since 1878 the people of Canada have countenanced, authorized and assumed immense national responsibilities. These cannot now be repudiated.

Sir, I have already occupied too much space, and am obliged to omit many points suggested by

#### YOUR ACROBATIC PERFORMANCES

in connection with Conservative leaders and tariff reform. You have nothing in the concrete to offer; you furnish no proof that Canada is retrograding, no evidence that the Government fails to be abreast of the times and fully in accord with the policy propounded by our late lamented chieftain, Sir John Macdonald. You may not care for Sir John Thompson; that is your own business, but you are scarcely justified in butchering Mulhall or misquoting Giffen and Bagehot, to prove a case against the country of your nativity. Sir John Thompson never sought the office; he was called to the responsible position of Prime Minister, and is as able, as honest and as patriotic a leader as any party could desire to follow. You know it; you must know it, for you are intelligent. Pique could not change your private opinion, of that I am convinced. Canada to-day requires the co-operation of every worthy son; the manufacturers require

the filling of the North-west with toilers at the plough, the farmers require diversified farming. Canada requires a fast sailing line across the Atlantic, and a broad, progressive immigration policy; not spasmodic, but continuous, practical and effective. Let the Government invest any surplus taxation in these directions, pointing scientific education as the class of products upon which large profits can be reaped, and the days of the agitator will close. Do you not agree with me? or, do you still think your abilities are better adapted to fault-finding and ill-digested criticism? For years, you condemned Sir Richard Cartwright, for his gloomy diatribes upon Canadian affairs, and possibly to-night you may explain that you have every confidence in Canada, providing you are

ALLOWED TO DICTATE A POLICY!

I do not wish to be unfair or ungenerous—but, remember, as Hazlitt once said—"A man may be a good talker if you let him start from no premises and come to no conclusion," therefore, a policy of "go slow" upon your part, would be both wise and patriotic. Explosive chuckles from the Opposition cannot always be accepted as evidences of approval. You now say that the National Policy is a failure; that you erred in supporting the Franchise bill of 1882, while the lords of the Privy Council long ago proclaimed that you were grievously astray in your opinions concerning the License Act and the Streams bill; might I not add the Boundary question as well? Your present attitude of attempting to prove that statistics establishing national wealth are not evidences of prosperity, but that large population, low taxes and general poverty are proofs positive of national progress, would indicate that you are again mistaken. Let the Hon. G. W. Ross, Minister of Education for Ontario, vouch for Canada. A Liberal, he is above all a Canadian. Speaking in Toronto on the 24th of February last, he said: "I have unbounded faith in Canada. I do not want to recognize the man who does not believe in his country. If there is a better, I would like to have it shown to me upon the maps, for at present I am ignorant of its existence." This was the language of a Liberal, who had just

returned from a tour around the world. My dear sir, go thou and do likewise.

I remain, your obedient servant,

C. H. MACKINTOSH.

Ottawa, Ont., April 12th 1893.

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SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S MEMORY VINDICATED.

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*"Those who quit their proper character to assume what does not belong to them,... have nothing of politics but the passion they excite."*—BURKE.

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To the Editor of *The Empire*.

Sir,—Mr. Dalton McCarthy, in the recent combination speech delivered by him in Toronto, did me the honor and paid his audience the questionable compliment, of asserting that "in this busy age" lengthy private letters, "much less public ones," were rather "too much for a busy man to read"! Alack and alas! Private business first, public duties next! What a volume of reality, of true inwardness, is contained in that significant declaration! However I do not propose to succumb to this extraordinary method of disposing of important national issues. I was a member of the Conservative Union, of which Mr. McCarthy was president; he deserted the outposts, and now refuses either to explain or to justify his action, except by personal allegation. Very well; but I undertake to prove from his lips that he is altogether astray. For instance, he declared in so many words:

"Mr. Mackintosh states I committed a sin when, in speaking against the North-west policy of the government, I said it was a danger to Confederation, the attempt of the French-Canadian people to perpetuate their nationality and to divide the people into two separate and distinct bodies."

When did I make such a charge? Where? On the contrary, the record shows that both in and out of Parliament, I spoke not only

in Ontario but in the County of Quebec, just as strongly—I admit not so ably—as Mr. McCarthy, against any attempt to force unconstitutional methods either upon Parliament or upon the Government, and condemned Mr. Laurier with his “musket” platform, as much as I did Mr. Mercier with his race and revenge pronunciamento. I sat in the House of Commons with Mr. McCarthy in 1885 and 1886 and, strange to say, *cannot recall one sentence uttered by him to show that he, during that trying period, entertained sentiments either defensive of his leader, Sir John Macdonald, or condemnatory of French-Canadian Domination.* My letter to Mr. McCarthy was not written with the design of injuring or placing him in a false position. Surely I had a right to enter a protest against his effort to mislead the people of Canada!

#### THE COUNTRY FIRST.

The country's interests were first to be considered, and I said so, pointing out that in 1887, “while our French-Canadian compatriots were striving to allay the passionate outbursts of national feeling,” Mr. McCarthy had publicly asserted that “the French-Canadians were a menace to the Confederacy.” What reply did the member for North Simcoe vouchsafe? This:

“It was all quite right so long as I fought the battles of my country, as I did faithfully until 1887; but when, *in accordance gentlemen with the wishes of my then leader, Sir John Macdonald,* I announced in the *county of Haldimand* that French-Canadian domination should no longer rule this country \* \* \* when I announced, in my humble judgment, the French-Canadian was a spoilt child, I was not willing to take these words back at the bidding of these French-Canadians, honestly believing them to be right.”

Mr. McCarthy is again mistaken. He did not make the speech he referred to in Haldimand in 1887; he made it in Hagersville, in that county, on the 26th of August, 1886, in reply to Mr. Edgar, and in support of Mr. Merritt, the Conservative candidate. He then said, (I quote from the *Mail*):—

“I ask this English-speaking constituency in Ontario to say, whether we will allow the Frenchmen to ride rough-shod over the rest of the people of the Dominion. \* \* \* You do not

want to see this country governed by the French, simply because the law was meted out equitably to one of their own people."

Certain allowance might be made for this language, for Mr. McCarthy's speech was to some extent a criticism on the inflammatory programme adopted by the Champ de Mars meeting in Montreal. But the member for North Simcoe says that his Haldimand speech (really delivered in 1886) was "in accordance with the desire of his then leader, Sir John Macdonald." Is Mr. McCarthy's memory as treacherous on this point as on that which caused him to declare that the speech was delivered in Haldimand in 1887? It must be, for Mr. McCarthy had not seen Sir John Macdonald for at least two or three months before appearing in Haldimand. Does Mr. McCarthy expect sensible people to believe that the great leader of the Conservative party had advised him, after Parliament prorogued in 1886, to seize the first opportunity to

#### ANATHEMATISE THE FRENCH CANADIANS?

The truth is SIR JOHN MACDONALD LEFT OTTAWA SEVEN WEEKS BEFORE MR. MCCARTHY SPOKE IN HALDIMAND; no writ had been issued at the time; his leader had been in the mountains and valleys of British Columbia, was returning and arrived in Port Arthur from the west, the very day Mr. McCarthy delivered the speech at Hagersville, which, he claims, was inspired, directed and approved by Sir John Macdonald? This evidence, circumstantial though it be, would in other cases be considered sufficiently allied to positive truth, to justify a jury bringing in a verdict of "guilty" without any prolonged deliberation. But there are other points quite as suggestive. If Sir John Macdonald "wished and desired" that Mr. McCarthy should assume an attitude of antagonism towards the French, why did the Conservative leader say at Toronto on the 21st December, 1886, "I predict that at the next general election the present Government will be supported by a majority of the electors of Quebec."?

If Sir John Macdonald's aim was to stir the prejudices of Ontario, and to appeal to passions as well as fears: if he had asked Mr. McCarthy to adopt a different course, would he—astute

and far-seeing as he was—have declared to the people of Ontario that they might

#### TRUST THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC ?

Is this not sufficient to prove that Mr. McCarthy's memory, at least, is treacherous? And as Sir John Macdonald was absent for several weeks before the gentleman delivered his Haldimand speech, he must have either written or telegraphed to him, to adopt this policy. Where is the telegram, where is the letter? and why does Mr. McCarthy date his Haldimand speech a period six months after delivery? Added to this, Mr. McCarthy, if he be correct, must have been aware of the fact, when reading Sir John Macdonald's subsequent utterances, that he had deceived and misled him—had used him as a decoy—and yet remained in the fold, consented to be the tool of his leader, supported him throughout from that hour, never uttering a syllable of protest, until the cold hand of death intervened, and the silence of the tomb was the only witness to be feared.

Mr. McCarthy, however, may feel inclined to say that, although mistaken in dates, he was correct in premises, 1887 being the year. This will not suffice, either. Mr. McCarthy made three or four speeches in 1887—one in Sutton, North York; one in Grand Valley, one in Bowmanville, one at Bradford, North Simcoe, and one at Barrie, North Simcoe. The latter place was the one he selected to promulgate his anti-French Canadian philippics. He was opposing Mr. Anglin, a Roman Catholic, and looking for Protestant Reform votes. With him it was "heads I win, tails you lose." He said:

"No, everything with them (the French Canadians) is conducted on the French model, and while we may admire members of the race as individuals, yet as members of the body politic *they are the great danger to the confederacy.*"

That is the speech I referred to as having been quoted at Quebec to the great

#### INJURY OF FRENCH CONSERVATIVES

who were fighting the party and constitutional battles. Does Mr. McCarthy wish the party to believe Sir John Macdonald



approved of this? Why, when he returned from the Pacific Coast in 1886, within less than a month after Mr. McCarthy delivered his speech in Haldimand, the Conservative leader availed himself of the earliest opportunity to supply a counter-irritant, at London, Ont., September the 17th, when he said :

"The *Mail*, either by correspondence or articles, has attacked the ecclesiastical system of Lower Canada. I think it was by correspondence, but whether or not, I am not bound by it, nor is the Government bound by it. With respect to that claim the French Canadians have their own law; they have their own religion, and they have their own legislature. Why should we in any way interfere with them? This shows how dangerous it is to deal with a subject a person is not familiar with."

Then with reference to French priests and "tithes: "

"Why should we in another province with different institutions, try to force our opinions on them and get up an agitation upon a point of that kind? I disapprove of it altogether."

Sir John Thompson standing on the same platform with Sir John Macdonald, at London, Ontario, said :

"Well, sir, the people of this country are not what I take them to be, if they do not hold guilty the men who are dividing the country, endangering its unity by appealing to prejudices in different sections of the country."

And yet, Mr. McCarthy states that "in accordance with the wishes and desires" of Sir John Macdonald, he declared that "Frenchmen were a great danger to the confederacy"! for some reason, only known to himself, putting the date at Feb., 1887, instead of August, 1886! To go further, speaking on the Riel agitation to the Protestants of Carleton and surrounding constituencies at Carp, on the 14th February (1887), the then Prime Minister said :

"I regret that it was necessary to hang Louis Riel, but it was necessary that the law should be maintained. The French are a patriotic and sympathetic people whose feelings of fidelity to their race and their religion are strong, and I hold that these feelings have been excited and worked upon by designing English Grits."

Is this, I ask, the language of one who desired his supporters

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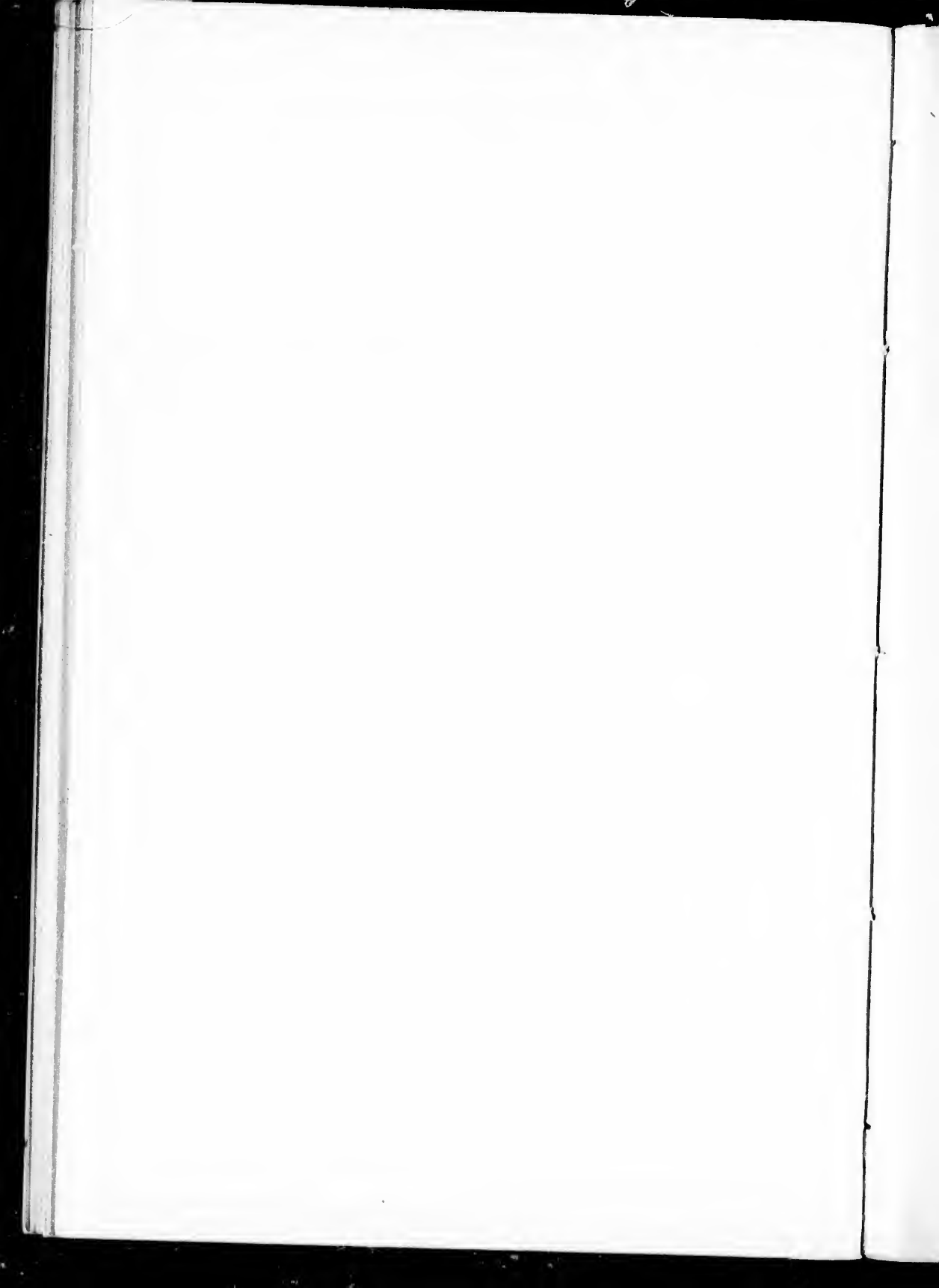
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to excite the passions and prejudices of the Protestants of Ontario? Certainly not—for the great leader's public life, is

A DIRECT REFUTATION OF ANY SUCH INSINUATION.

I would ask, too, does it not at once occur to thinking people, that, had Sir John Macdonald determined to reverse the teachings and precepts of his whole career, he would have consulted others besides Mr. McCarthy? There were men just as near, whom he knew to be just as true, as that gentleman had been, or could be. Yet, Sir John's own colleagues, those who had his entire and implicit confidence, never heard him suggest, even remotely, the policy of an anti-French-Canadian crusade; it is strange, then, that Mr. McCarthy alone was entrusted with this terrible secret, and Mr. McCarthy alone made the custodian of his leader's conspiracy against his own colleagues in the Administration! More than all that, responding to Sir John Macdonald's "wishes and desires," his chosen champion spoke on the question once in Haldimand in 1886 (when Sir John had been seven weeks absent), and then confined his attack to the precincts of North Simcoe in 1887, when opposing a Roman Catholic; while Sir John Macdonald, the Hon. Sir John Thompson, the Hon. George Foster, the Hon. Thomas White, the Hon. Mr. Bowell and Senator Plumb were preaching the opposite doctrine throughout the great Province of Ontario!

Mr. McCarthy has questioned my knowledge of public affairs. Well and good; it is his privilege; but it is not his privilege as a member of Parliament, to state that I, either directly or indirectly, attempted to misrepresent his position for the purpose of injuring him in the estimation of the people of Canada. He must, however, respect the memory of the great Chieftain, who, though dead, has left behind men ever ready and able to guard his reputation as a statesman, one who believed with Lord Mansfield that "THERE IS NOTHING CERTAINLY MORE UNREASONABLE, MORE INCONSISTENT WITH HUMAN NATURE, MORE CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT AND PRECEPTS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, MORE INIQUITOUS AND UNJUST, MORE IMPOLITIC, THAN PERSECUTION. IT IS AGAINST NATURAL RELIGION, REVEALED RELIGION AND SOUND POLICY."

I remain, etc.,

C. H. MACKINTOSH.

OTTAWA, Ont., April 24th, 1893.

